2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 776 777

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

777 754

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia.

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who 755 took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, 278 poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. 754 At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women 776 were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

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to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Serbs EF6

indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

For Sciatica.—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when par-boiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

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The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat. 757 278

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows." [755 758] [787]

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

. 2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; afterwards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

757 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by
278 homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or
753 boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many
151 I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought
[563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and
326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him
759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can
752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house
757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound
[278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen,
757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He
278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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Albania EG1

the peasant surgeon, at any rate, though few have as much to say to the credit of the other popular doctors and charmmongers. Matavulj, who in the second half of the last century was a faithful observer of peasant life, has a different story. 'There would not be so many cripples, blind men, lamed and deformed, in Dalmatia, were it not for the "empirics", who aggravate diseases, especially wounds, with their miraculous ointments, so that those who become incapable of work take to the beggar's staff.... Thousands of priests, land-owners, merchants, and other better and worse people (in smaller places) would flare up in defence of the village Aesculapians. They would enumerate in proof thousands of examples of how this and that village Aesculapius had cured Paul or Peter, when the "doctors had given him up".' Dr Preindlberger, of Sarajevo, examined sufferers treated by village surgeons for diseases of the eye, and his grim survey was published in 1913.[1] At the present time the self-taught operator at any rate is seldom able to practise at all.

It ought to appear that rational therapy is more characteristic in dealing with accidents or hurts whose immediate cause and symptoms are apparent, such as wounds and fractures; but again accidents can be ascribed to supernatural influences, and refusal to heal quickly to various mysterious causes. Long custom can become a superstition and mystical means be called in to assist the practical. Cauterisation of boils is not at all uncommon, but in Dalmatia there is a spell in which red-hot fire tongs are held close to the boil, so that the heat can be felt, while a conjuration is said. An Albanian doctor who employs exclusively empirical means gave me a prescription for a wound ointment containing ewe's fat. As I knew of several similar preparations which do not specify ewe's fat, I ventured to ask whether a male sheep would do as well, supposing that the gender was a mere habit of speech. He said quite plainly, no, an ewe's fat was certainly most efficacious, and failing that a she-goat's; he himself never used a sheep, but it might do if there was nothing else. This is a

[1] Preindlberger, *Prilozi narodnoj medicini*, Gl.Z.M. xxv, pp. 65, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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Croats EF4

A 757 278 clear case of handing on a tradition in the form in which it was probably first accidentally learned, with the selection of one particular association, in this case, the sex of an animal. The accumulation of such analogies and the substitution of drugs on an arbitrary principle of similarity are the whole growth of folk-medicine, or at any rate account for most of its inconsistencies.

S 752 Folk-surgery more than any other branch reveals the importance of imitative practical methods, the influence of indirect contact with learned medicine, which accounts for pulse diagnosis, and the examination of urine, which can enter into the diagnosis for the evil eye, as well as for better authenticated complaints. Surgery also shows the workings of local ingenuity, and individual skill, of which the rupture belt illustrated by Hovorka is a remarkable example.[1]

C 752 It is in Southern Dalmatia that some of the most interesting accounts of folk-surgery have been collected; and it is here that it still mainly flourishes. For while the peasants have lived in the neighbourhood of the oldest centres of Adriatic culture, the villages themselves are remote and poor. Here in Dalmatia, older methods of Italian schools are still employed; terminology shows distinct learned influence; and purely local inventions evidently follow these suggestions. Here we have a recent tradition of lithotomy.

A description of folk-surgery given by Dr Lilek is still, after thirty years, up to date; and the skill of the surgeons whom he mentions by name is now sometimes transmitted to a younger generation, while their names are recorded in local memory, when the surgeons themselves are no longer alive.[2] Indeed, while Dr Lilek stated that certain practices were no longer in use (e.g. operation for conjunctivitis, hernia), I heard of their more recent existence in the immediate neighbourhood of Ston.

C [759] Amongst these folk-surgeons there is on the whole a startling absence of mystical outlook. Such a typical example is Pero

[1] O. Hovorka, *Narodna Medicina na polustrvu Paljeću*, Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 119.
[2] *Vide* Lilek: Gl.Z.M. V.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG 1

no cure is possible. 'Black boil' (*crni prišt*, etc.) generally seems to refer to anthrax, but the principle of cure for all similar abscesses and boils throughout the territory consists in the application of heat or of poultices to hasten suppuration, followed by cauterisation sometimes, and rarely by opening with an instrument. At Duvno in Bosnia the boil is cauterised with gunpowder in the same way, and the wound is then sprinkled with alum and a sparrow bound over it; as a precaution honey and garlic are eaten before this operation. These remedies are practised by shepherds, who suffer considerably from the complaint, and believe that unless the boil is immediately cauterised no one can survive. Honey is said to prevent the disease turning to the 'heart'. Fresh blood of a cat; the gall bladder of a bear; the head of a hare, and a hare's fat; a black cock or frog cut open alive; goose dung; pine tar on blue paper, are used.

The plant remedies appear somewhat limited. Slav and Albanian doctors in the south-eastern area recommend the leaves or decoction of the leaves of *Sambucus ebulus* (*zova*) for both internal and external use. Root of *Lappa communis* cooked in milk. Ivy leaves applied with vinegar. For boils and furuncles, in general, a decoction of the seeds or the inner bark of *vrgova* (*Boletus agaricus*?). The whole plant including the root of *Podagraria* (?) is pounded and applied to the boil for 24 hours, after which *Betonica officinalis* is used. The local name for *Aegopodium* is *Poganica trava*, corresponding to the English 'gout weed'. Elsewhere it is a remedy for rheumatism, etc., commonly known as *poganica*, which here means a black boil. If this case is accurately quoted—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it seems that it is a remarkable example of the working of popular etiology.

Gunpowder is the favourite agent. Another method on the lines of that given above is to cut a hole in a slice of dry bread and to lay it over the abscess, so that the surrounding flesh is protected. The gunpowder is poured into the circle and ignited. A piece of cloth, or better a twist of unspun wool is used, but when the boil is not on the face it is sur-

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF1
Albania EG1

C S 278 757 sublimate of arsenic. Amongst the internal remedies of this class I found a mixture of gall nuts, flour and water, made into pellets about the size of peas, one of which is taken daily for a period of forty days. Half a kilogram of barley, a handful of lime and the fibre of a ripe maize cob are cooked slowly in a litre of water until the barley is soft, and drunk frequently as soon as the first symptoms of gonorrhoea have been recognised. In Hercegovina the treatment of syphilis C 278 757 in the early stages is to take a small quantity of two parts of sugar with one part of sulphur, to which some copper sulphate may be added, for seven mornings or until pustules appear on the skin. Sores are treated with sulphate of copper and sour milk or sour cabbage brine, or sprinkled with the salt and bound up with a sour cabbage leaf, or sprinkled with the ashes of a hedgehog roasted alive or a small viper. Pills of sulphur, copper sulphate, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice are eaten once to three times daily, while pills of mercury, arsenic, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice, or of mercury, dog's hair, arsenic, barley flour and lemon juice are used for fumigation. A little carnation, sulphate of copper, dry, white, dog's excrement are powdered and a small quantity blown through a tube into the back of the patient's throat, and a glass of cold water drunk immediately afterwards. This is done daily until the disease makes its appearance on the surface of the body, and then the same powder, which has been mixed with sour milk and left to stand for twenty-four hours in a copper dish, is rubbed on the skin. Dog's excrement is used for fumigation, and dog's C [751] blood and meat as a prophylactic. Fumigation with mercury alone is known in most provinces, and fumigation with gall S [278] [563] nuts, mercury and flour occurs. The Bosnian Mohammedans make pills for fumigation. An old man at Dečani does a trade with cakes for fumigation; they weigh about three ounces and are about two inches in diameter and flat, oval in shape. A 278 756 Boots, fire-arms, coats, generally the characteristic property of Albanian highlanders, may be seen hanging in the wretched house of this patriarch, now nearly ninety, which have been

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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left as pledges during treatment. The pills are a mixture of mercury and hen or goose dung, sometimes with fir resin, which has been baked in the sun or over a very slow fire on a flat brick or piece of iron. These are inhaled by the sufferer under a cloth, ten days running, while the patient keeps a strict diet, avoiding salt and strong meat. The following drug is taken three times a day for nine days in all venereal complaints: half a litre of *rakia*, some chalk, alum, camphor, and a spoonful of olive oil mixed and left to go sour; or nine insects found on an elm tree (*striži buba*) are roasted on a fire shovel and powdered and drunk in *rakia*. Some years ago a charlatan in the Smederevo district used to sell a mixture of these insects and powdered glass in brandy to the villagers.

Stern mentions that, in Turkey, in which he included the territory now under discussion, henna entered into the composition of antiluetic medicines. For this there is no evidence that I could discover in recent traditional medicine in the places he mentions, nor as far as I know is henna used in fumigation at all.

Herbs are also used for fumigation, e.g. *Sedum telephium*, and others known as *Frenga trava*. The common coltsfoot has been pointed out to me as a specific.

ULCERS, GANGRENE

Cancer, ulcers, gangrene, lupus, festering wounds, etc., are mainly treated as special cases of wounds. Beliefs about animal parasites, etc., have already been discussed in an earlier part.

A folk-doctor is reported to have cut out a cancerous growth on the upper lip and cauterised the wound with a red-hot iron. He then applied an ointment and, when the ulcer reappeared later in the same place, he inserted a piece of arsenic and bound up the wound. At the present time a doctor has become famous in Montenegro, and as far as Berane, for curing cancer (*rak*) by cutting away the growth and binding on green figs 'with other herbs'. This method he

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S 752 278 M [278] [752] *centaurum*, *Symphytum*, black willow, or bacon fat, or tar in some form. *Hajdučka trava* (*Betonica officinalis*?) cooked in butter, water and pine resin. Honey smeared on a plantain or a tobacco leaf (Montenegro). Alum is calcined, powdered and scattered on the wound, or dried, powdered centaury leaves, or charred deer's horn. At a later stage the wound is treated with white of egg mixed with salt and applied on cotton; or with the excrement of a pig. Clay mixed with brandy; potter's glaze well mixed with olive oil; rice cooked in vinegar; camphor and brandy applied on raw wool; mustard (the plant, *slačica*) with white of egg. Oil on a sour cabbage leaf; juice of ivy leaves fried with bacon fat; dry stinging nettle closes a wound. Ten drams of yellow wax, ten drams of incense, ten drams of white soap, three ivy berries pounded, are mixed and cooked slowly until the mixture thickens, when it should be put into cold water, taken out and squeezed until all the water is extracted. Olive oil, pine tar and the shredded inner bark of elder are cooked as a wound salve. The following prescription was given by an old surgeon near Dečani, who said that he used it for over forty years, and that during the troubled times of Turkish days he might, after a local raid, have as many as a dozen wounded men in his kitchen. Yellow beeswax is heated over a slow fire until soft, with sufficient olive oil to produce a creamy consistency, the inner bark of *Sambucus* is shredded and added together with a pinch or so of incense, and, if liked, some pine tar; all this should be very well stirred and allowed to simmer for some time. The wound should first be washed with brandy, the stronger the better. As a note on the subject of specialisation, this surgeon remarked that a bullet could be best extracted by a barber surgeon. An Albanian of the same district said that, in the old days, and now for the matter of that, he never used anything for a wound but stale goat's cheese, which was the best and handiest remedy, and drew out the bullet. An Albanian, practising folk-surgeon and veterinary surgeon at Vrelo, who made extensive journeys in and out of Albania and Montenegro, gave me

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the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pĕsmĕtin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated

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by the application of a fresh-flayed sheep skin. This is, of course, a widespread method. In Montenegro and Metohija I saw the skin first steeped in brandy, for cases when a man had fallen or seriously injured himself or been kicked by a horse, etc. The word *maskalić*, used in Dalmatia in the sense of plaster, has locally the meaning of a fleece and nothing more in some of the island dialects (It. *mascalcia*). Blood-letting for bruises was generally practised by means of leeches, and is still recommended in parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, etc. For *sijevalica, poganica*—the result of a blow or bruise, when the blood does not flow away and is supposed to become infected, or the result of witchcraft—leeches were first tried, and if this was not successful ointments or pounded horseradish root. For sores or boils of this origin on the legs and arms, a suitable incantation was said over leaves of ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and plum tree, and these were either eaten by the sufferer or bound over the part of the body affected. Further remedies for bruises, etc., are these: oil of hartshorn collected from a horn heated over the embers, mixed with brandy and incense and applied on blue paper; pounded leaves of *Clematis vitalba*, which if used in sufficient quantity, produces a wound. This is quoted by S. Banović from the Adriatic coast. The same plant is known to the peasantry of many districts as of assistance in evading conscription, so I have been told by recruits. Equal parts of incense, sea salt, pine tar, melted together with heat and applied on blue paper; honey and incense, or honey mixed with yolk of egg; roots of stinging nettle pounded with salt; a fish (*Rhodeus amarus*) with salt; the warm contents of the stomach of a newly killed sheep or goat, under a bandage made of the fresh skin of the animal, are applied for serious injuries, while honey and butter are eaten together for forty days in order to turn the blood away from the bruised part. Human excrement in urine or water is drunk for the same purpose. In Montenegro, for a severe bruise, a sheep is cut open and the injured member placed in the warm entrails. A decoction of pounded stinging nettles and *roska* is applied.

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The fresh-flayed skin of a black cat; hot oak-wood ashes in water; pine tar. Fir resin and pine resin, beeswax, half a glass of vinegar are cooked slowly, and a little incense added; the mixture is stirred regularly until it boils, when it is applied to a bruise on blue paper. Burns are first cooled with wine vinegar, and a yolk of egg beaten up with brandy is applied; or water is poured over chalk, and when it clears, two parts of water are mixed with one part of olive oil and applied. Steaming is known for serious bruises in the South and West, and is mentioned for the East also, where the use of salt and onion is also given and *ubojni kamen*—a pigment used for sheep marking—also *lapis haematitis*, oxide of manganese, which as the common name implies, is practically a universal remedy.[1] Generally it is scraped or powdered and drunk in brandy, milk or water, but it can also be applied externally, dry or mixed with liquid. In the Sandjak and the Lim valley, for instance, both methods are used for bruises, but, taken in milk or brandy, it is also supposed to check haemaphthisis and is recommended for 'women's complaints', for excessive menstruation and for haematuria. I recorded that a midwife near Berane suggested this stone in a case of insufficient milk.

BITES

Although in reality poisonous snakes are not in the majority, the bite of many harmless species, sometimes said to jump into the air in order to attack a man, is greatly feared, and no community is without a number of snake-bite prescriptions. The commonest first-aid measures are sucking, piercing, tight bandaging either above or on both sides of the wound, rubbing in of gunpowder, etc. Occasionally the amputation of a finger or toe is carried out on the spot. Emetics are taken; and it is often thought unwise to sleep for some time afterwards. A diet may be observed. After the flesh has been cut away as deeply as possible round the wound, vomiting is

[1] *Ubojni kamen*, however, is sometimes a magical stone which an initiate to healing finds after dreaming of it. Both the magical stone and the ordinary stone give a drug when water is poured over them.

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The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad, otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

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for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *neštar* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

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Again, in some of my examples the symbolism is an accretion, perhaps indicating a phase of decay. On these grounds alone, until the history of each case is better known, we could not unreservedly accept any symbolist or psycho-analytical theory which has so far been advanced to explain the growth of ritual and magic. At any rate, we would have to start from the complicated hypothesis that even symbols and associations derive their forms and stability from the historical process as much as from the tenor of individual mental life.

Terminology

The evidence of language has to be used with extreme caution. Medical terms are remarkably irregular, and vary from place to place—from person to person—more, perhaps, than the technical vocabulary of any other common activity. Sometimes the term in use is vague and the concept clear and particular; sometimes the words used have a definite concrete sense, but are generalised in meaning and usage. The names of plants and animals vary also: sometimes the vocabulary is rich and precise, sometimes it is rudimentary. Among many Albanians for instance, from North Albania or present-day South Yugoslavia, I remarked that plant names were very vague, and that they were mostly given in the form 'plant for cows', 'plant for bees', 'herb for fish', etc., yet a great variety of useful plants were known and played an important part in normal economy and medicine. There are Serbian peasant herbalists who may know up to a hundred medicinal species, which they describe minutely, but they have not got names for them all. The fact that many common plant names are of foreign origin is no more a proof of their recent introduction or recent medicinal use than that houses as such were unknown in Bosnia before the word *han* became a common term. Centaury is known by at least half a dozen names, some of Romance and Greek origin, but *Betonica officinalis* and *Hyoscyamus* are also called *kičica*, elsewhere a name for centaury, and are also used for wounds, etc. *Prase* in the meaning of 'scrofula' looks like a *calque*, but there is no evidence to show